

585 1942: 39). If a child marriage is to be contracted, the
[304] girl's family will ask her future husband, instead of her
[224] brother, to pierce her ear lobes. A more elaborate ceremony
is performed when the girl is given as a wife to the hunter
who has killed a jaguar for some of her dead brothers. In
this case, however, she is only one of the gifts that are
given to him in exchange for the jaguar skin. The other
gifts, bow and arrows and poari (a musical instrument) are
obligatory. Of particular interest for us is the speech that
one of the girl's brothers makes when he delivers her to the
hunter. He says:

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539 "This is your wife, stay with her. This is the
place for your bow, for your arrow. Here is the
place for you to eat nokodu, noa, noidoya, the place
for you to eat motore and honey. Here your ruwobo,
your aria, your pori (different kinds of containers)
are waiting for your fish, for your game. Here you
will eat nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu. You should
look after this girl, take care of her, so that she
will make kodo as your mat, beto as your blanket.
She will make the basket where your arrows will stay.
She will wash you and give you to drink. She will
go to meet you when you come back from fishing or
from the hunt, when you come back from the woods or
the hills. You do not have a mother, older sister,
or younger sister anymore. This girl will be your
mother, your older sister, your younger sister. You
should treat her with care. Do not scare her when
she goes to get water, when she goes to get firewood.
Do not scare her when she is eating fish or when she
is eating meat. You should defend her from other bad
women, from the things she is afraid of. Do not
scare her. You will be her mother, her father, her
brother, and she will love you with all her heart."

1
Akoredujereo, awudo apore amugure, atugo pare, awoiga
pare, ake nokodu, noa, noidoya jetareo, ake motore jetareo,
ake miyawoe giodugedu jetareo. Woere aruwobo, akaria, apori
jeture ako karo togi, ako barogo togi. Woere a mode nokodu,
noa, noidoya-metotadawu kowuje, woe. Awudojire aeture

593 It is considered highly improper behavior to go against
578 one's cross-siblings. Today, the Bororo frequently quarrel
with their spouses when they are drunk, and infidelities,
divorces, and remarriages are common. But in the resulting
fights it is always the brothers and sisters who stand
593 against their respective spouses. There is no obligatory
[835] levirate among the Bororo and they condemn any sexual rela-
[522] tion with the brother's wife, although jokes between the two
are allowed and expected. Brothers are supposed to make a
common front against outsiders, and the sexual involvement
of a man with his brother's wife would put a handicap on
[578] this. Most of the quarrels among the Bororo concern sexual
593 affairs. A man who is having sexual relations with his
835 brother's wife, but together with the brother goes against
another man who is also having an affair with the same woman,
could be asked by this last man: "Why are you going against
me? You too have been sleeping with your brother's wife."
The Bororo say that this would be shameful for both brothers.
587 On the other hand, a man who is very sick may call one
593 of his unmarried brothers and tell him that he is going to

[585] akaiwore, uwo kodo towuje akudawuje, uwo beto towuje akudawuje,
[539] uwo atugo rakoja baku towuje, uwo akaimo, uwo akududo. Awudo
bogaire apoga mode akodadai akaregodui karo jao, barogo jao
piji du tabo, akaregodui tori, itura piji du tabo. Kaje jawo
karega aerudu kare ache, atuye makaguragai t akai duji.
Awudore ache modema, aviye modema. Iyeripo tabo arore ji,
akaba pagududo tudui poboto duji, tudui jerigi kae duji.
Akaba pagududo tui ako karo kodu, ako barogo kodu ko duji.
Jetuwo t akodoi tujeba areduji, tuyogudugodure ji boeji.
Akaba pagududo, uchawo aki, uwowo aki, uyedagawo aki, uvuriwo
aki, paduwo akujiyagi, jetuwo akodoi pudabo.

881 reciprocal, he will be called iyorubodare by them. The only
*601 exception occurs if the initiator is a brother of the boy's
true father; then the boy will call his father's mother
imerugo, grandmother.

881 When delivering the boy to the initiator, the boy's
• 539 brother says, "This is your wife (akoredufe); together with
him you will cut marido; together with him you will go to
get the palm leaves in the forest; with him you will clean
the village plaza and Aife muga; you will make a road for
mano; with him you will open a path through the bushes, in
front of the others carrying their bows and nets; with him
824 you will kill game and fish." ¹ (Marido is the plant the
Bororo use in making a big wheel, also called marido, with
which they dance during a ceremony of the same name. The
palm leaves mentioned are those which the Bororo men use to
make a fence around the dancing ground during certain cere-
796 monies forbidden to women. Aife muga is the place where the
Aife, the bull-roarers, are hidden, where many of the cere-
monies have their starting point, and where the actors in
these ceremonies are adorned and furnished with the necessary
824 paraphernalia. Mano is another wheel of palm leaves that
the Bororo carry in a race on a long road leading to the
village.

¹
"Akoredufereo, awu apore are mano kora ta, awu apore
are keo kora ta, awu apore ature bai kae, awu apore ature
kaidaga kae, awu apore are bororo akudo, awu apore Aife muga
akudo. Awu apore are mano koda to, awu apore are awure jodo
ipo, iwora paru keje, tuge, boiga, buke, boari otodai."

571 established a lasting yorubodare relationship (alliance).
593 They continue to exchange ceremonies, representations, orna-
613 ments, useful objects, food, initiators, women, and repre-
616 sentatives of the dead. If a man marries a woman who is not
from the lineage of his yorubodare, this actual relationship
is considered to be only accidental. The lineages of his
yorubodare will still be considered his ideal fathers, his
ideal sons, and his ideal wives.

The Bororo like to talk about the establishment of the
yorubodare relationships, and my field notes are full of ex-
amples:

571 "This Baitogogo threw the string of Aije
613 Bakororo (bull-roarer called Bakororo) around the
• 539 head of Bakorokudu. He threw on him also baku-
773 gumee eimejera (the chief of the bakugumee, a kind
616 of falcon), its paint, its skirt, and its headdress.
He threw on him also tamigi eimejera (the chief of
the tamigi, horned screamer) and its paint. He
also gave Bakororo's ornament, the ke (bat, and
also an ornament resembling a huge racket), and
his ika (trumpet) to Bakorokudu. That is what
Baitogogo did to Bakorokudu. After this he called
Bakorokudu yorubodare. Bakorokudu gave Baitogogo
Iwararege eimejera (the chief of the Iwararege, a
star constellation), his calabash and his head-
dress. He threw on him the jaguar skin, ornament
of Meridoge, and his headdress. That is what
Bakorokudu did to his yorubodare Baitogogo. After
this they called each other yorubodare."

1
"Awu Baitogogo ure Aije Bakororo uvuriya ure barigu
Bakorokudu aoto. Ure Bakugumee eimejera ure imo irogodu, imo
toro, imo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure tamigi eimejera
ure imo irogodure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure Bakororo imo ke,
uku ika ure maku ai jamedu, Bakorokudu ai jamedu. Oinore
Baitogogo roro Bakorokuduji. Du rekodajire akore iyorubodare
ino Bakorokuduji. Ure Bakorokudu ure Iwararege eimejera
uwabo, imo pariko ure maku Baitogogo ai jamedu. Ure Meridoge
ekuye adugo biri, eimo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Oinore
Bakorokudu roro tuyorubodare Baitogogoji. Nowu inodu ji
pagire egore iyorubodare ino pui."

772 occupy the same space, undifferentiated in the case of nature,
differentiated in the case of culture.

772 The Bororo express the difference between culture and
775 nature through the concepts of Aroe and Bope. Aroe are the
776 souls of the dead, spirits, items seen and named for the
[92] first time. Bope is the spirit of nature, nature itself. In
[128] the following pages I will describe the characteristics of
Aroe-culture and Bope-nature, taking as the starting point a
Bororo myth which tells about the first human village and
which points out many of the contrasting features between cul-
ture and nature.

772 The first true village (bororo) was arigao
773 bororo (the dogs' village). No person cleared
• 539 it. It was already cleared for the dogs. But
its name was not lost. The Bororo took its name
and applied it to any place, any site, any plaza
that they themselves cleared.

The first village that had a name was Echera
Bororo. The Badajebage saw it, but they did not
recognize it. They thought that it was just an
ordinary clearing. But then a red macaw came
there. He circled, circled, circled above their
heads, and while circling he said, "Arara, arara,
arara." Then he came nearer to the earth, to
the people, and while flying he said, "Echera,
echera." Then suddenly he plunged among them
and said, "This is Echera Bororo," and flew
away. The Badajebage said, "Ah, it is Echera
Bororo indeed. He came and told us the name.
We were staying on it, but we did not know it.
But he came and told us the name."

1
"Bororo ure t rugadu t jewureo (arigao bororo). Boe
eigoya karega ere akudo. Arigaodoge etaire akudodure. Mare
iyere okwa kare tt boe eda, boe emuga, boere akudo tujewu,
tuyeda, tumuga, tumororo kaere boere iye aru kuri mato, ture
akudowu tumowororo kae.

Iyegidure ure Echera bororo rema. Boe erudu nure ji,

772 Commentary:

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers
361 not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west
82 of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the
107 village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place
582 cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings,
775 the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies
and the domain of men and Aroe—the spirits or souls—which
the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It
772 is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is
222 the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such
229 as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees
with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope.
Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the
[SS] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And
even in the village people should not be called by name dur-
ing the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

[772] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etóbeadure
[53] baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure arego-
dure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara,
arara,' akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du
tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare
akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri
pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare
uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo
u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji.
Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa
tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji.'

82 and edugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until then. They
775 said to aroe echeba:

773 [537] [From now on] you are not going to do bad
things. You are not going to eat women, men,
and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan,
tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your
food. You are not human. You are the Harpy
Eagle. And so Bakororodoge named the harpy
eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment
of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving
them names all go together—they are all cultural acts.

776 Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the
773 birds and he created the food they eat. He created the
animals and what they eat.² Most of the big animals and fish
776 and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's
262 food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an inter-
mediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals
and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo 1: 241-
[67] 243. Eating these animals without offering them first to
Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of
776 his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed
761 to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is
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1
"Ro pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imedu,
nogedrogu, nogwardrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire,
jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore aka
rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge
eigoyare ere iyedo oino aroe schabaji."

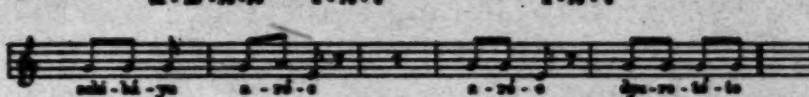
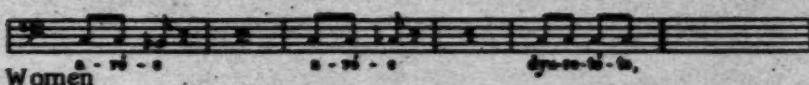
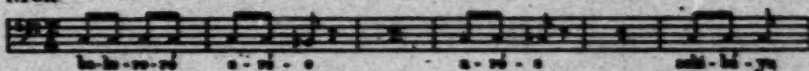
2
"Ure awu kiage barege ure ewodudo ure enogwagere jiboe
rogu botudo jamodu, e k-je. Ure bar,ge ewodudo, ure enogwa-
gere jiboe botudo jamodu."

- 533 diadem) -- ehé would be sung; again, however, this did not occur at the ceremony for the dead, but only in connection with hunting.
 First song, by the Men.



533
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Men Second Song, by the Men and Women.



- 535 Rohde speaks of a "fararu dance," for which one is adorned with
 [534] feather crowns, bells, and other ornaments. A dance leader, the
 gourd rattle in each hand, bells made out of deer hoofs on his feet,
 is in the center of a circle which the men form and which the women
 surround with a larger circle. They dance rhythmically, leap and
 rattle for a long time; finally the leading dancer roars hau! and
 makes a wild final leap which the entire company imitates.
 Waehnelde saw dances with imitations of animals and calls the
 howling-monkey dance, with an imitation of all the sounds and
 movements, particularly extravagant. "In the jaguar-skin dance
 men and women take part; the latter are never able to see the
 skin of the jaguar which one man is wearing on his back, who,
 however, tries to show it to them with his movements at every
 step." The fear of the women is the point /495/ of the dance.

[198] "The dance, which consisted of their imitating (?) the customs of